Double-Cross in Greece—*Constantine Poulos*

THE Nation

September 16, 1950

Moscow's Line on Korea

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

The Waning Congress

BY WILLARD SHELTON

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Three Centuries of Best-Sellers

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

*

New Yorkers "Choose" a Governor

AN EDITORIAL

SEP 15 1950

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE BIG THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS, meeting this week in the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, are presumably thinking more in terms of defense than of diplomacy. But defense without diplomacy is meaningless, since every item on their agenda, from Formosa to the rearming of Germany, is a political problem that can be translated effectively into troops and tanks and bombs only if its political meaning is fully understood. As the talks go on, a few decisions can safely be predicted. In line with the President's recent announcement, the United States will agree to send additional forces to the Continent in the near future, both as a further deterrent to the Russians and to bolster Western Europe's faith in our will to defend it. Britain will also promise more contingents for the Continent. The arms programs of all the Atlantic states will be stepped up to "match" the American effort. France and Britain will accept the need of incorporating German units in the projected Western army if and when it is organized. But many factors of controlling importance remain uncertain. The size of the American forces to be sent to Europe and the time of their dispatch: will these depend on the progress of the war in Korea? The financing of Western Europe's rearmament: what proportion will be carried by the United States? The creation of a unified army for the defense of Europe: will there be a genuine pooling of authority, money, men, and weapons, as the French have proposed, or a mere coordination of national armies under joint command as in World War II? Does not a supra-national military system imply a supra-national political and economic system as well? These are some of the still uncertain factors that will determine whether the decisions reached in New York can be converted into policy and action.

*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S SPEECH ON ECONOMIC controls stated with clarity, firmness, and realism the general principles which should govern the economic management of war in Korea and preparedness at home. If the principles are applied correctly, we should manage affairs more successfully than we did during World War II—but the trick, of course, is in the application. It is one thing to say that new war and industrial-mobilization costs should be paid by new taxes, and quite a different thing to get Congress to enact equitable laws bringing in additional revenue to the tune of $15,000,000,000 and more a year. It is one thing to urge that labor forgo wage increases, except those tied to living costs or needed to correct "inequities," and quite a different thing to work out a specific plan flexible enough to operate efficiently in a democracy; the most serious flaw in the new Defense Production Act is the section rigidly applying wage controls whenever commodities are price-controlled even on a selective basis. Mr. Truman has designated W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the National Security Resources Board, as coordinator of the vast powers of allocation, credit control, and production given the Executive. If Symington does his job well, the hit-or-miss appeals to the White House which undermined all coordinators in World War II may be reduced to a minimum, but his capacity is still to be tested. The natural desire of everyone is to have guns and butter at the same time; the delusion that both are possible, even for a nation as productive as America, can hardly be long sustained.

*

THIS YEAR'S GATHERING OF BRITAIN'S TRADE Union Congress, which has just concluded, was marked by lively debates on international questions and on wage policy. On the first the right-wing leadership carried the day; on the second it suffered a narrow defeat which may have serious consequences for the Labor government. The opposition in both cases was vociferously back by the small Communist group in the T. U. C., who despite their party's minute proportions have obtained prominent positions in a few important unions. This group was naturally much to the fore in an attempt to refer back a section of the General Council's report which upheld the United Nations' action in Korea and scathingly denounced the tactics of the Communist-controlled British Peace Committee. The vote, however, showed that a large proportion of the delegates supported the executive on this issue. A resolution calling for outlawing of the atomic bomb, moved by Walter Padley, a left-wing Socialist who is very definitely anti-Communist, received considerably greater backing, even though it was finally rejected. It was evident that a substantial minority of the Congress were not inclined to accept the Baruch plan as the last word on atomic control and felt strongly that a new effort to prevent atomic warfare ought to be made. Moreover, the debate revealed fairly widespread distrust of certain aspects of

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American policy, a fact which Washington should ponder. In opposing Soviet imperialism we have no stauncher allies than the British workers, but their distaste for communism does not mean blind acceptance of American leadership.

*

SQUELCHED ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT, the Communist group could console themselves with an important success when the Congress turned to domestic matters. On the question of wage policy they were able to take advantage of the strong sentiment among the rank and file in favor of an improvement in standards. As a result a small majority carried a resolution declaring that the policy of wage restraints should be abandoned at least until the government introduced statutory limitation of profits and succeeded in controlling prices. This action was taken despite opposition from the General Council and a personal plea by Prime Minister Attlee, who urged forbearance in pressing wage claims and acceptance of the inevitable decrease in goods and services available for consumption in view of the diversion to defense of a larger share of the national income. In moving the resolution, W. C. Stevens, Communist secretary of the Electrical Workers' Union, found a sympathetic response when he argued that wages could be raised at the expense of profits and without necessitating price increases, for British workers have been watching the expansion of profits with considerable impatience. On the other hand, dividend taxes and other measures have restricted payments to shareholders, and a major part of British corporate earnings is being reinvested in much-needed improvements in plant. Consequently, even if a wage increase could be extracted from profits, the government's economic planning, which calls for a substantial increase in capital equipment, would be disrupted.

*

SOME GOOD MAY COME, AFTER ALL, OF THE mean hounding of Jean Muir from the air waves. So patently unfair was her dismissal as "Mother Aldrich" by the General Foods Corporation that a healthy public reaction appears to have set in. Leading New York papers have been bombarded with letters that range from the pained to the scathing. Most of these, like the papers themselves, emphasize the shocking absence of "due process" in the dismissal of Miss Muir solely on the basis of fifteen or twenty telephone protests that her name was included in "Red Channels," which purports to be a list of radio personnel touched at one time or another with Communist connections. Most revealing is the retreat of Mrs. Hester McCullough, prominent among the protesters, and of Theodore Kirkpatrick, the publisher of "Red Channels." Mrs. McCullough has belatedly renounced any intention to "sit in

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judgment" and expressed the view that "General Foods should have been as respectful of Miss Muir's rights as they were of my rights in protesting." Kirkpatrick, with considerably more responsibility on his head, has conceded that no individual has the right to "absolve" or "condemn" anyone of charges of communism. His list, he says, was "never designed to be used as a bible, as apparently it has in some quarters." There Mr. Kirkpatrick touched the core of the matter. Among advertisers, agencies, and networks his black list is in fact being used in just that way, and it is hard to see how he could genuinely have expected or wanted anything else. For every Muir case, with its dramatic eleventh-hour cancellation of a program, there are certainly many instances of individuals who are denied a contract in the first place because of "Red Channels," quietly and without being given a reason.

New Yorkers "Choose" a Governor

A HANDFUL of men headed by banker Winthrop Aldrich last week nominated Thomas E. Dewey as the Republican choice for Governor of New York. An equally small handful of men—Ed Flynn and a few other Democratic leaders—last week nominated Representative Walter A. Lynch to oppose him. There were also a couple of party conventions, attended by delegates theoretically chosen from below to do the nominating. They got their orders for Dewey and Lynch, respectively, listened to the stale oratory, put on the ceremonial hoopla required on such occasions, and were taken seriously by no one.

The procedure was not substantially different from that of previous years, but it was rendered more blatant and obvious by the quick switches that had to be made on the very eve of the conventions. Having settled first on Judge Albert Conway, only to find themselves confronted by a storm of protest from the liberal-labor camp, the Democratic king-makers met again, figuratively under klieg lights, and came up with the nomination of Lynch. The Republicans had similarly committed themselves to the venerable Joe Hanley, now Lieutenant Governor, and were forced to reconsider when the party's fat cats concluded that changed circumstances had made him a poor investment. Adding to the cynicism of the occasion were the protestations by all concerned that they were acting solely out of duty in the face of the world crisis.

It must be admitted that the Republican decision at least made good political sense. The intrusion of a New York City mayoralty election, caused by O'Dwyer's sudden resignation, did in fact threaten Republican chances. The accepted belief is that Flynn had engineered the move for precisely this purpose. But what can be said of Democratic strategy from that point on? Having set the stage for a coup, Flynn and Company immediately turned around and picked first Conway, who would in all probability have split the party, and then Lynch, whose selection served only to plunge the Rochester convention into a sea of gloomy foreboding.

It was not that the delegates had anything against the Bronx Representative, who by all accounts is an intelligent and estimable gentleman. As a regular of regulars, he had gone down the line for the Administration, and the charts would show that he had supported almost every liberal and pro-labor measure to come before the last few Congresses. But he had taken little initiative, played the game quietly, and after twelve years in the House was all but unknown outside his district. The feeling was strong that he was no man to stack up against the wily Dewey and that the party was almost wilfully courting defeat. Yet the delegates went to Rochester feeling, as one reporter described it, that "only a miracle" would enable them to shelve Lynch in favor of a probable winner like Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., or an experienced administrator like Oscar Ewing.

Why were the leaders so adamant? We do not pretend to know for certain, but they themselves have dropped a few clues. First, they would not accept a man too obviously championed by their own labor supporters in both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. Having foolishly refused in the first place to give labor a voice in their councils and been forced, in consequence, to the public embarrassment of dropping Conway, they could not allow themselves to appear to be taking orders from that quarter. And their dogged determination to pick a Roman Catholic was all too plainly a reflection of their belief that only in this way could they vitiate the dread charge of "communism" which they fearfully awaited from the Republicans. They would rather, in short, go down with an unknown than take a fighting chance on a militant liberal at whom the bony finger of the witch-hunter might be pointed.

In spite of this seeming will-to-suicide on the part of the Democratic strategists, the voters of New York are still left with a real choice. Broadly speaking, they will be voting on three issues that far transcend the respective merits of Dewey and Lynch as executives. The first of these, ironically in a state election, is the question of American foreign policy. In their platform and in their oratory the Republicans have made it plain that they expect to make Secretary of State Acheson a prime target and, from there, to work back to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. Here is the essence of the Republican line as set forth in the keynote address to the convention:

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> The diplomatic defeat of the United States in the past five years is without parallel in the history of the world. . . . Our disaster cannot be set at the feet of the military. . . . We have been led to the brink of defeat by the political world diplomacy in which the Democratic Party has indulged. . . . Years ago an alliance was formed by the Democratic Party with the leftist groups, the pinks, the fellow-travelers, and the outright Communists . . . we live today under the shadow of that alliance.

If this utterly false and unscrupulous line is accepted in the numerically key state of New York, it will be applied with mounting intensity throughout the nation. The Administration will be paralyzed in its conduct of foreign policy at the most delicate and perilous point in modern diplomatic history.

The second major issue is the Senate seat of Herbert H. Lehman. It would be inexcusable, in our view, if out of indifference to Lynch's candidacy Democrats should fail to vote in sufficient strength to assure the reelection of this outstandingly valuable and courageous public servant. To supplant him by Hanley, a provincial, conservative Republican, with a life-long record of petty partisanship at Albany, would be folly of tragic proportions.

Finally, we cannot help seeing in Dewey's abrupt reversal—and in this we are far from being alone—the prospect of his making still another bid for the Presidency in 1952. Without going into the merits of such an attempt, our position on Mr. Dewey's Presidential ambitions having been fully and repeatedly set forth, we believe that by their choice this November the voters of New York will go far toward determining the nature of the bigger contest two years from now.

A Bad Tax Bill

THERE are two criteria which citizens should apply to the tax measure about to emerge from Congress. Will it produce enough revenue to offset the increased spending of the government and so act as a deterrent to inflation? Does it provide for a relatively equitable distribution of the burdens which taxpayers are called upon to bear?

The answer to the first of these questions appears to be fairly satisfactory. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1951, it is now quite possible that government outlay will be balanced by income. Actual disbursements for defense, while due to rise steadily, will almost certainly lag behind appropriations, while at the same time some substantial savings in other directions should be effected. The cost of the farm-support program, for instance, is falling because of the advance in prices; housing is being cut back and some public works postponed; payments to the unemployed are rapidly declining.

Revenue, on the other hand, ought to expand briskly during the next nine months. Apart from the effect of the proposed new taxes, booming business is sharply raising the yield of existing levies, and according to some authorities, the Treasury may take in as much as $45 billion in the current fiscal year, or nearly $8 billion more than the President's original estimate last January. In this event a deficit may be avoided in fiscal 1951. Fiscal 1952, of course, is another story: with the expanded arms program getting into full swing, the red ink will soon reappear unless Congress has meanwhile imposed still more drastic taxes.

When he turns to the second of our suggested criteria, the citizen will have more cause to question the work of his representatives. We pass over at this time the failure of attempts to write an excess-profits tax into the bill. The tremendous inflation of corporate earnings certainly seems to call for such treatment, but it is true that there are some tricky aspects to this tax which justify careful consideration. Hence we may excuse the action of the Senate majority in view of the fact that the bill contains a pledge to introduce an excess-profits tax early next year and to make it retroactive.

There is no shadow of excuse, however, for the way in which lobbyists for special interests have been allowed to block tax reforms or to persuade the legislators to add clauses giving relief to relatively small numbers of wealthy people. The tax bill as finally approved by the Senate—we can still hope that the House will insist on some changes—combines the imposition of higher taxes that will hit the vast majority of taxpayers with the continuation of some old loopholes and the creation of a number of new ones.

A series of clauses, for instance, will allow receivers of certain kinds of income to treat it as a capital gain and so pay a lower rate of tax. Thus owners of oil royalties are to be permitted to "sell" their rights for a period, paying a maximum capital-gains tax of 25 per cent instead of income and surtax of perhaps as much as 90 per cent. Another clause gives a green light to fictitious family partnerships, a form of tax evasion which the Supreme Court disallowed during the recent war. Then there is the specific refusal of the Senate to provide for a dividend-withholding tax, although it has been estimated that stockholders fail to report at least $1 billion annually, with a loss to the Treasury of as much as $150 million.

Space prevents us from citing other examples of the inequities of this tax bill. For full details we refer our readers to an excellent speech—largely ignored by the press—which was delivered in the Senate on August 29 by Senator Hubert Humphrey, who, together with Senators Douglas and Lehman, has worked hard to give the taxpayers a square deal.

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The Waning Congress

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, September 7

THE Eighty-first Congress is driving to wind up its work next Saturday, and if anyone thinks that a review of the session should begin with cheers and end with hallelujahs he should look elsewhere for his reading matter. With the exception of the revised social-security law and some necessary measures on foreign affairs and appropriations, the Eighty-first did all its constructive work last year.

Congress this year appropriated most of the money Mr. Truman requested for military purposes and for military and economic aid to Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Pact nations. But along the way it marred the record by attempting to force a $65,000,000 loan to Franco's Spain. The President has made it clear that Franco will not get any of the money except on the economic conditions previously laid down, but Franco nevertheless won a propaganda victory in Congress.

The new tax bill passed by the Senate and scheduled for a final vote in the House next week is punctured with loopholes and escape clauses benefiting corporations and well-to-do individuals. The Senate refused to attach an excess-profits-tax section, preferring instead to accept a pledge from Senators George and Millikin that an excess-profits bill will be considered next year. No doubt public opinion will force enactment of such a bill, but technically no resolution of the present Congress can bind the next Congress to anything.

After months of stalling the Senate Democratic leadership today scheduled the Alaska and Hawaii statehood bills as the first order of business after the McCarran "Communist control" bill is out of the way and a few of the hundreds of measures piled up on the regular calendar have been passed. The statehood bills were approved by the House and by a Senate committee a long time ago; the only apparent reason for their not receiving priority was the Democratic leaders' unspoken fear of a filibuster. It is true that some Southerners do not want the Senate to have four additional members who may be expected to vote for civil-rights bills, but the right of the people of Alaska and Hawaii to full membership in the Union and full representation in Congress is morally clear; in any event if the menace of a filibuster existed, it should have been met early in the session. Instead, Mr. Truman had to apply tremendous pressure to get the bills scheduled for action at this late date, when breaking a filibuster would be all but impossible.

The odious witch-hunting for communism among government officials reached a new peak when Senator Schoeppel of Kansas took the floor this week to fling imputations that Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman was an "American Quisling." A man of integrity and courage, Chapman stood up and fought for his reputation, and Schoeppel apparently lacks the unabashed demagogy that enables Joe McCarthy to keep on repeating charges even after they have been disproved. In a press conference today, after Chapman had sworn to his purity and answered all questions about his oath of office, his past associations, and sundry other matters, Schoeppel in some embarrassment insisted he hadn't really called Chapman a Quisling. What the *Congressional Record* shows is that Schoeppel in a string of loose-jointed sentences raised a question about the "loyalty" of the head of the Interior Department, added some phrases about Alaskan statehood, and then said he did not want to "wake up" and find a "so-called American Quisling doing a job that might be serving the purposes of Soviet Russia."

It may be useful to recount how such matters as the Schoeppel charges are handled by Republican brain-trusters in this campaign year. The Senator from Kansas made his speech last Tuesday, but its accusations had become fortuitously available to a few favored reporters on the preceding Saturday. By Monday they had been shared with a wider but still select group. The Republican National Committee vigorously denies that it had anything to do with the distribution of copies of the speech, which appeared in plain envelopes at the selected newspaper offices. An equally forceful denial has not come from the Republican Congressional campaign committee. One of the favored reporters remarked today that copies of the Schoeppel speech "just floated in advance down from the skies."

Chapman charged that all of Senator Schoeppel's material came from a Republican investigator named Frank Bow, who had access to Interior Department records years ago and now works for Schoeppel even though he is running for Congress in Ohio. Chapman said that his non-Communist affidavits were then in the files, and Schoeppel did not explain why Bow's photostats of the records did not include them but reproduced only material which appeared superficially to damage Chapman. Senator O'Mahoney pointed out that all the accusations had been considered in 1948 by a Republican-controlled committee and that Chapman had been cleared by a no less ardent anti-Communist than Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan.

BEFORE this appears, the Senate will have acted on the McCarran bill, the Administration's own internal-security bills, and the Kilgore substitute sponsored by a group of liberal Administration Senators who feared that failure to offer such a substitute would make

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enactment of the McCarran bill inevitable. So far the President has refused to commit himself on the Kilgore substitute; he told his news conference today that it was better than the McCarran bill and that he could not say whether or not he would veto it because he did not know what form it would have if it should finally reach his desk.

It can merely be noted, therefore, that the Kilgore substitute is itself a bill of sweeping dimensions which would give extraordinary powers to the President to jail Communists without trial and force them, in effect, to prove themselves "loyal" instead of requiring the prosecution to prove disloyal or criminal acts. The detained victims could appeal to fact-finding boards, and the right of judicial review would be granted them. But in case of war, invasion or threatened invasion, insurrection, or an "emergency" proclaimed by Congress and the President, thousands of citizens guilty of no overt acts could be clapped into concentration camps. Not to be naive about it, it seems pretty clear that active Communists would become subject to some kind of detention, with or without legislation, if the United States and Russia should go to war. An Administration spokesman remarked privately yesterday that perhaps the legislation should be passed now, since if war broke out, an emergency bill might be even worse. Administration liberals are warning the White House that this Congress is determined to "write an anti-Communist record," and that the "weakest" bill to be expected would contain concentration-camp provisions.

No War—but Civil Strife

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Lake Success, September 8

AS THE Security Council ticks off the items on its agenda under the brisk presidency of the British delegate Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the most striking feature of the debates is the evident desire of all members to avert extension of the Korean conflict. Incidents such as the shooting down of a Soviet bomber, dramatically reported by the United States on September 5, might easily have been made a *casus belli* by either side had this seemed desirable. Instead, both Russian and American spokesmen handled the affair with notable caution. While the Kremlin sought to take up the issue directly with the United States, Washington, in keeping with its new policy of working exclusively within and through the United Nations, rejected Moscow's bilateral communication. And Jacob A. Malik, who seems to have considerable respect for the shrewd, even-handed procedure followed by Sir Gladwyn, did not challenge his ruling that the position taken by Russia during the discussion of the bomber incident in the Security Council was "quite illogical."

By contrast, on September 7 several delegates thought Malik was "logical" in asking that the question of inviting a Peking representative for the discussion of the alleged bombing of Manchurian territory should take precedence over the appointment of India and Sweden to investigate this incident, as proposed by the American delegate. The vote on this procedural point, with seven in favor of Malik's proposal, three—Egypt, Cuba, and China—against, and the United States abstaining, may presage the line-up of votes when the invitation to Peking actually comes up for decision.

Now that the explosive Formosa problem is on the Council's agenda, delegates feel less anxious about the possibility of general war in Asia, and one of them has gone so far as to say that World War III has been averted. It is recognized, however, that the basic problem is not so much a war directly between the United States and the U. S. S. R.—as American proponents of the atomic-bomb strategy have hitherto assumed—as a series of episodes in various areas of conflict, with Moscow carefully avoiding direct intervention while giving aid and comfort to local armed forces. In short, the United Nations will sooner or later have to decide how it can most effectively deal with civil-war situations which because of the larger world interests at stake threaten to bring on general war. Malik was telling only part of the story when he described the Korean conflict as a civil war pure and simple. What must be borne in mind, however, is that in all periods of profound readjustment it becomes difficult to draw a sharp line between internal affairs and their external repercussions. The business of each country has become the business of all, as appears most clearly in the U. N.; and intervention in one form or another is the order of the day.

Throughout history national governments, as well as organized churches, have taken sides for or against political groups and clashing ideologies outside their territorial borders or spiritual jurisdiction. Examples abound, from the religious wars to the French Revolution, from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia to the Spanish civil war. Historical comparisons can be misleading, but our own times bear more than a superficial resemblance to the post-Napoleonic era, with its long and bitter struggle between governments determined to maintain the status quo in Europe and South America and national groups determined to achieve independence by revolutionary means. While the Russians consider themselves liberators—particularly of Asian peoples from "Western imperialism"—their reputation as such has been somewhat tarnished now that the U. S. S. R. has itself resorted to tactics which even fervent Communists like the Yugoslavs have denounced as "imperialist." The Western powers, with their tradition of democracy,

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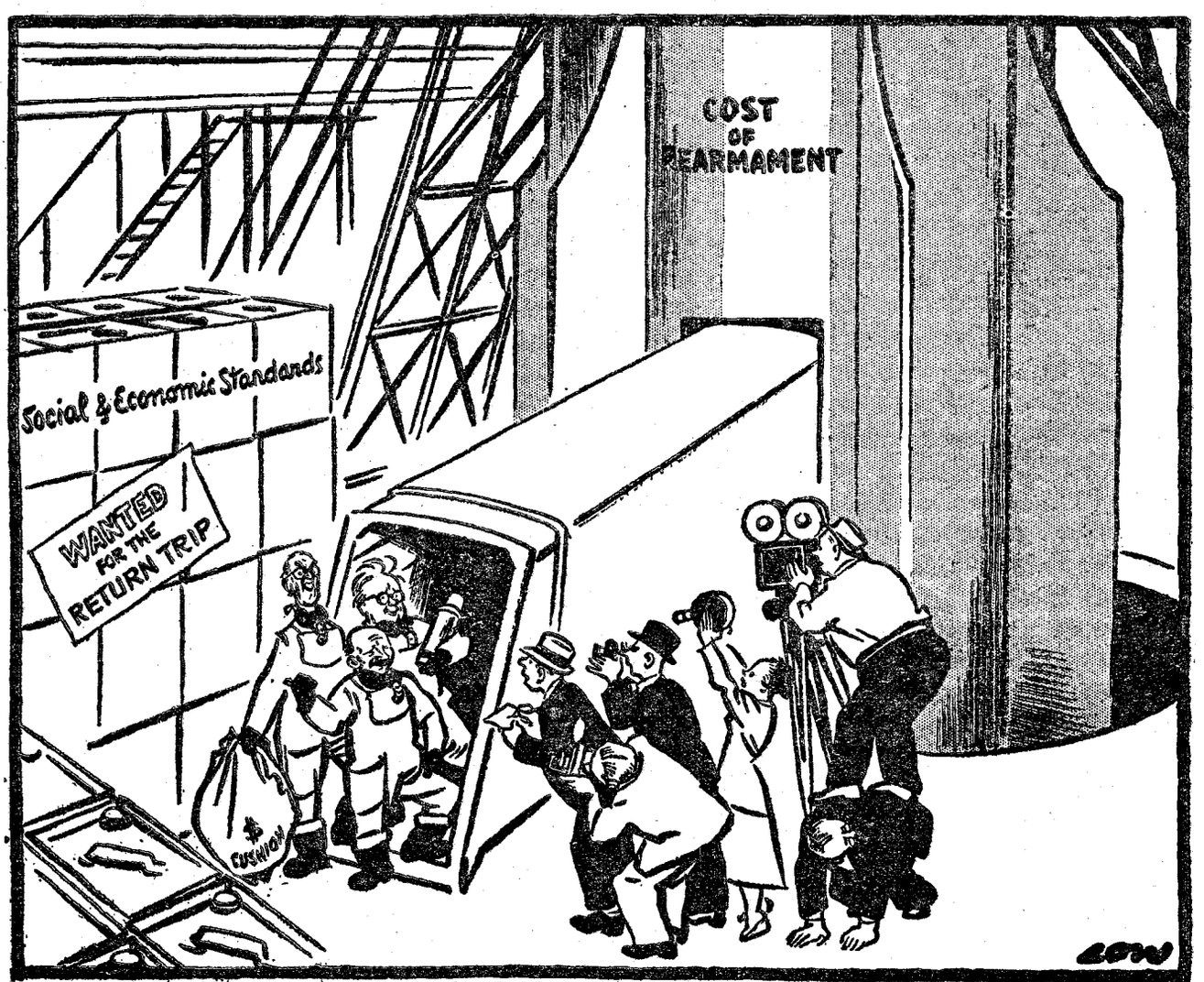
were in the most favorable position after World War II to become genuine liberators of peoples still living under feudal rule, foreign or domestic. Britain wisely acted in consonance with that tradition when it conceded independence to India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon; and it is entirely possible that the Commonwealth, with its new Asian members, may prove more successful than the United States in helping non-industrialized nations to make the painful transition to a modern economy and liberal political institutions.

One of the tragedies of the mid-twentieth century is that the United States, which could so easily have seized the leadership for orderly reform and thereby silenced Soviet propaganda, instead placed itself in a Metternichian position of opposing all movements that seemed to spell "revolution." Why, ask many observers in the corridors at Lake Success, did the United States, as if deliberately setting out to justify Moscow's accusations, make itself the champion of one lost or discredited cause after another? Not that Washington should have blindly accepted communism or any other "ism" as the "wave of the future." But it could, the argument runs, have made a determined effort to discover in other countries fresh and creative leadership, instead of merely insisting that the old wine of stale ideologies be poured into the new bottles of the democratic institutions it urged them to accept.

On the surface, it looks as if the Security Council were stymied on Korea because of the veto, which Russia exercised for the forty-fourth time on September 6. Needless to say, the machinery of the United Nations would work far more smoothly if the veto were dispensed with. And the United States, which at San Francisco was as insistent on the veto as the U. S. S. R., could perform an outstanding service by voluntarily surrendering this vestigial privilege of great powers. It would thus administer a far more stinging reproof—or issue a more resounding challenge—to Russia than it could do by reams of propaganda.

But of greater importance for the future of the United Nations is the attitude the United States will take toward the revolutionary trends of our times. As long as this country remains fearful of economic and social changes that would also require changes in political structures from the Middle East to Asia, from Africa to Latin America, the U. N. will be stalled, even if the veto is



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abandoned. The proposal made by the Indian delegate Sir Benegal N. Rau that post-war aims in Korea be discussed does not stand a chance of being taken up until the North Koreans have been driven back, at least to the Thirty-eighth Parallel. Yet this proposal offers the most constructive way out of the present impasse and would give the United States an opportunity to state its ideas of how internal tensions in Korea can be eased once aggression has been stopped. No American familiar with the situation in South Korea before June 25 believes that Syngman Rhee should be considered a symbol of American intentions toward Asia. Support for United Nations intervention in Korea against aggression was reaffirmed by nine of the Council's eleven members on September 6. But the Council still has to define, not what it is against, but what it is for.

Political Tremors in India

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, September 6

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU is touring Assam in order to obtain a first-hand account of the damage inflicted by the earthquake which shook the province three weeks ago. The temporary disruption of communications caused a flock of exaggerated rumors about the extent of the destruction and wild speculation whether Assam might have undergone some dreadful geological change. Fortunately recent reports have dispelled many of these fears. The government of India has been informed that the oil fields of Dighboi, the only place in India where gasoline is produced, are intact and that production has in no way been affected. The lids of one or two storage tanks were shaken off but have since been replaced. Assam's tea gardens were not affected, though the blocking of roads may cause some delay in the export schedule. Injury to rice and other standing crops was negligible, and flood waters, which threatened to inundate a large number of villages, have receded. Fears that rivers might have changed their courses have proved unfounded. The Railway Ministry has learned that Assam's railway lines are practically undamaged.

It is now estimated that little more than 500 square miles in the mountainous northeast were affected. It is a district inhabited by tribesmen, and loss of life was not heavy, though damage to government and private buildings was considerable. The tragedy is that the backward economic condition of these hill tribes makes the problem of relief and rehabilitation extremely difficult.

During the last few weeks partisan feelings generated throughout the country by the election of the president of the Indian National Congress have brought to the surface the conflicts that have been undermining the solidarity of the party since independence was granted three years ago. The Congress Party dominates the country's politics, and all branches of the central and provincial government are run by its members. Neither in the capital nor in the provinces is there any opposition worth noticing. The termination of British rule removed the one political objective which had bound Congressmen together for so many decades: very few party members had any abiding faith in the economic program placed before the country by Gandhi. During the past eighteen months divisions in Congress organizations throughout the country have inevitably begun to develop. The first open revolt was staged in the United Provinces, Prime Minister Nehru's native region. Soon the dissension spread to almost all the former British-Indian provinces and to the Indian states, and now the party is everywhere divided into two equally strong groups.

The Congress organization and the Congress government of each province are at loggerheads. At the moment the trouble is caused by personal or group rivalries; policies and a program, political or economic, have not yet entered into it. The presidential election was fought largely on personal grounds, Patel supporting Tandon, and Nehru favoring a rival candidate, but there are indications that sooner than most people imagine the party will be divided on ideological and economic issues. Nehru believes that India's future must be built on strictly secular lines and that religious minorities should be accorded all the rights and privileges granted them by the new constitution so that in due course religion will cease to play any significant part in the political life of the country. On economic questions he is inclined to follow a progressive line calculated to improve the living conditions of the masses, though he would not describe his policy as socialism. On the other hand, it is very difficult to say, on the basis of their public statements, whether Deputy Prime Minister Patel and Tandon, the new Congress president, favor anything like a Hindu theocratic state, though it may safely be stated that on communal questions both are inclined to take a firm stand. The fact that big business regards Patel as its friend has led observers to draw the inference that on economic issues Patel generally follows a policy favorable to capitalists.

The presidential election stirred up every kind of conflict, personal and ideological, and it is widely believed that the Nasik meeting must categorically declare what the Congress stands for politically and economically. A continuing sore in Congress politics is the undefined relationship between the party and the government, and unless the role of each is clearly laid down, administrative chaos seems inevitable. Observers feel that the Nasik meeting may be the parting of the ways for Congressmen.

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Double-Cross in Greece

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

New York, September 11

WITH most eyes on Korea, the significance of an important event that occurred on another peninsula lying on the fringe of the iron curtain passed almost unnoticed. On August 18 the five-months-old experiment of a middle way out of Greece's dilemma came to an abrupt end, and the discredited right wing took over.

Today news dispatches from Athens report the fall of the Venizelos government. The dispatches also said that King Paul would either ask Marshal Alexander Papagos, head of the Greek army, to form a "super-government" or call upon Tsaldaris to form a "caretaker," or "service," government. So Greece is back where it was before the elections of March 5, and its political equilibrium is even more precarious.

These elections answered the spurious allegation made by nearly all American officials who have visited post-war Greece that there was no alternative to the Stalinists or the right-wing clique of Athens. The results proved the existence of a sizable center, plus non-Communist left, movement.

The Plastiras government was the first Greek government since the liberation which was more than anti-Communist: it was sincerely determined to press reforms much needed by the Greek people. Its fall raised the specter of the resurgence of fascist oppression and a renewal of Communist agitation. The return to power of the right wing is a flat denial of the will of the people as expressed in the elections of March 5. Now the direction can only be toward the right.

In those elections the Democratic Group, a coalition of the Socialist Party and left Liberals, swept the big cities, although it had begun its campaign only a few weeks earlier and had published a daily paper for only six days before the balloting. Lack of means and under-cover terror prevented it from entering candidates in all electoral districts; yet it obtained more than 10 per cent of the votes, against 19 per cent won by the rich, all-powerful Populist Party, whose propaganda, backed by a partisan gendarmerie and army-officer cadre, had had an absolute monopoly over the minds of the people for five years.

The Populists considered victory "in the bag," and the election was therefore conducted with comparative freedom and honesty. The results surprised the United States embassy and Ambassador Henry F. Grady as much as they did the Populists, deflated Tsaldaris, leader of that party, and outraged the fascists. Undoubtedly the Democratic Group received the votes of many Communist workers, who were urged by their outlawed leaders to "vote for the Democratic Group but not for the Social-Fascists who lead it." Under the proportional-representation system this crude contortion was possible, though the results showed the Greek Communist Party's strength at its lowest point in almost ten years.

Thousands of members of the old anti-German resistance movement voted for the centrist National Progressive Union, headed by General Nicholas Plastiras. This new grouping, too, had only limited funds and many of its campaign workers were harassed by army officers, but it got nearly 17 per cent of the popular vote. General Plastiras's ticket presented an odd combination of conservative army officers, former leftists, and capable economists. It was, however, the personality of the leader that carried the list. His following was undisciplined and uninterested in ideologies in comparison with the Democratic Group, but it won the election.

General Plastiras, hero of the anti-royalist movement of 1924, is a symbol of change. His platform was not too clear, but he expressed the feelings of the people on a few major points. He denounced the men who had ruled Greece since 1946, accused them of squandering or pocketing the aid which the United States had sent to the Greek people, and spoke in favor of a smaller army, peace, justice and friendly relations with neighboring countries. To a populace suffering from uncertainty, police persecution, civil war, and exploitation, his words offered new hope. They carried all the more weight because they were spoken by a man of unquestioned integrity and firmness.

After General Plastiras had set the pace, others joined the band-wagon, including Sophocles Venizelos, the small-caliber politician who now heads the Liberal Party, and George Papandreou, opportunist and demagogue, who, shrewdly measuring General Plastiras's growing strength, suddenly remembered the Socialist half of his party's name. Together, the three so-called center parties won 44 per cent of the total vote and 136 of the 250 parliamentary seats. Adding the 18 seats of the Democratic Group brought the strength of the anti-Populist bloc to 154, well above the majority.

As no one party received a majority, it was natural that the center parties should form a coalition. The total

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General Plastiras

strength of the right wing was just over 40 per cent, while that of the three center parties was nearly 55 per cent, and the latter were assured of the added support of the Democratic Group on a number of questions. The pattern of the center coalition headed by General Plastiras took shape almost immediately after the election results were known. Plastiras, Papandreou, and Venizelos informed the King that they were prepared to form a government. The Americans, when they recovered from the shock, welcomed the idea: a center coalition seemed to promise stability and sobriety. Ambassador Grady called on King Paul, and although no names were mentioned, received assurance that such a government would be formed. The Ambassador departed for Geneva on other business.

BUT General Plastiras's victory, coupled with the urban successes of the Democratic Group, although it brought joy to the populace, struck terror to the hearts of the rightists, who decided that a way must be found to prevent the General's assumption of the premiership. The first weapon they used was the army vote, cast and counted separately from the people's. Owing to the influence of army commanders who instructed their troops how to vote, the results, as reported some two weeks after the poll had been taken, turned out to be largely in favor of the Populists, although many observers consider it unlikely that the vote of a conscript army which had often expressed its dissatisfaction with the ruling Populist clique would vary so greatly from that of the rest of the population. This vote boosted the total of the former coalition partners, the Populists and Liberals, over that of General Plastiras. The King, who fears the General more than he does the Communists, urged Venizelos to form a government. The Liberal leader accepted with alacrity. With equal promptness he renounced the pact he had signed with General Plastiras and Papandreou a week after the election. Tsaldaris pledged the support of the Populists, and in this way the right wing succeeded in splitting the center and forestalling General Plastiras.

But it had momentarily forgotten Washington. Indignant at being misled, the United States Ambassador hurried back to Athens and made it clear that he did not consider the Venizelos government, dependent as it was on right-wing indulgence, capable of properly utilizing Marshall Plan aid. He learned that the Palace had gone over his head and inquired of the State Department at Washington whether it had any serious objections to a Venizelos government. A momentary crossing of signals between the Athens embassy and the State Department, resulting from the sympathy of certain State Department officials for the royal family, caused some confusion, but in the end Mr. Grady carried his point, and after failing to stir Venizelos with diplomatic language and broad hints, wrote him a strong letter urging the broadening of the government and stating that a "stable and efficient government supported by the people and Parliament" was essential to the E. C. A.'s success in Greece. Venizelos told reporters he was "not in a hurry" to settle the government question. Whereupon the E. C. A. mission cracked down with a threat to postpone indefinitely various contemplated projects and hinted at the possibility of holding up basic Marshall Plan schedules.

It then appeared that the shrewder section of the right wing, led by the army hierarchy and aided by the King, had actually been playing for time, and that Venizelos was enacting his usual role of willing front man. Realizing that Mr. Grady was determined to see a center coalition government in power and that he would not be overruled by Washington, the right wing decided to keep General Plastiras out of office until Parliament met, so that he could not take any steps by decree, and to remove the army from his control.

Venizelos resigned two days before Parliament was to meet, after signing an extraordinary decree authorizing the unification of the armed forces in one Ministry of Defense and giving the Chief of Staff almost unlimited powers. The decree makes the civilian Minister of Defense a figurehead and the three Under Secretaries errand boys for the General Staff. Appointments, promotions, demotions, transfers, and discharges of officers of the four highest ranks are made by the Chief of Staff; of lower ranks by the War Council, which the Chief of Staff heads. The civilian Ministers will be allowed to select the civilian employees of the national-defense establishment. The intelligence, counter-intelligence, espionage, and counter-espionage sections of all three services are to be placed under the Chief of Staff. Originally, the decree—first published in a weekly newspaper put out by the General Staff—also placed the gendarmerie and the police under the unified Ministry of Defense. Reaction against this proposal was so strong that it was reworded to provide that it would come into effect only in the event of "war, mobilization, or special security conditions." Who was to decide when "special security conditions" existed was not specified.

Although unification of the armed forces had been

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supported by all political groups, this suspicious haste in carrying it through as an extraordinary decree rather than having it legislated by Parliament can have only one interpretation. The aim was to preserve the present political coloration of the army's higher echelons, the most important barricade of the right wing, and now of the Palace, against the popular will.

VENIZELOS'S stratagem has denied Greece the opportunity to make a clean start. A center government formed right after the election would have been a genuine, spontaneous expression of the will of the majority of the people. It could have gone ahead boldly with a program of justice and rehabilitation. Venizelos held up that formation for five weeks and gave the right wing a chance to regain its breath and plot its resurgence. Every plank of General Plastiras's program was anathema to it. He had pressed for a reduction of the army's strength—military expenditures account for more than 40 per cent of the national budget and have risen since the guerrilla war ended almost a year ago—and in this he was supported by the E. C. A. mission. In the economic sphere, he had able conscientious Ministers cooperating sincerely with the E. C. A. The government had also promised to work toward decentralization and local self-government. Municipal and town elections, the first in seventeen years, had been scheduled for this year. Finally, the government was prepared to release many of the 31,000 persons still in jail and to put an end to summary courts-martial and executions. These proposed releases and Plastiras's intention to abolish the island concentration camps were the final factors which induced Venizelos to join his former partners, the Populists, in the overthrow of the centrist coalition.

Perhaps it was inevitable. The Palace and General Staff constitute a shadow government capable of exercising power no matter what parties may compose the Cabinet. The right wing fought for its sinecures, its privileges, its ultimate control over national policy. Even after General Plastiras became Premier, soldiers who had voted for him were sent to the island camp at Makronissos.

Whatever may be said against the Plastiras government, it not only represented a last hope for Greece but provided the United States with a way out of the predicament that made Washington appear the defender of incompetence, corruption, and reaction in Athens. It also offered a modest chance of preventing, when E. C. A. aid ended, the renewal of the Communist inroads that the Marshall Plan was designed to forestall. But the State Department relaxed its pressure soon after the Plastiras government was sworn in, and by doing so encouraged Venizelos to sabotage the government's plans. It has now ceased to exert any pressure at all and allowed the restoration of power to the thoroughly compromised, undemocratic, and unpopular politicians whom Venizelos represents and on whom he must count for support.

What Russia Tells Itself

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Moscow's Line on Korea

London, August 26

IN A collective work recently published in Moscow entitled "The Crisis of the Colonial System" we read:

> As long ago as 1913 Comrade Stalin wrote that because Russia was situated between Europe and Asia its role in the awakening of Asia would be extremely important. He wrote this during the czarist regime. How much more influential is Russia today, now that it has shown the peoples of the world the practical road to socialism! The tremendous political and economic development of so proverbially backward a country as the Mongolian People's Republic, accomplished by its own Five-Year Plan, is a typical example of Russia's potent effect on the countries of the East.

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In a chapter on Korea the same book said that the absorption of South Korea by North Korea *by peaceful means* was "historically inevitable," the southern "state" being an entirely artificial and temporary structure. It turned out that on June 25 the "absorption" began by means that were anything but peaceful. The Russians have claimed from the first that the South Korean army invaded North Korea, but the Russian press does not stress this point. Instead it emphasizes that the war in Korea was provoked, knowingly, by General MacArthur. To the Russians, MacArthur is a "maniac" who thinks of himself not only as the de facto Mikado but as the future overlord of all Asia. Having brought about "civil war" in Korea, America allowed MacArthur to "intervene," and the other members of the Security Council, in the Russian version, were "stampeded into agreement" without being given time to examine the facts. The "civil war" theory is the pivot of the Russian argument about the cause of the Korean war, and the press refers constantly to the 1933 League of Nations resolution defin-

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ing aggression, which states that a civil war in one country is no excuse for another country to intervene.

Perhaps the Russians are not quite sure they have here a foolproof legal case; what they are more interested in is to show that the Americans have not a foolproof legal case either. In the circumstances, the implication is that it would be better to get to work and arrange a peaceful settlement, after which, whatever the details of the arrangement, the evolution of Korea would sooner or later follow its "natural and historically inevitable course." But as long as the United States shows no sign of wanting a peaceful settlement in Korea, the call to all Asia, including Japan, to "rise against the Americans" must continue. Korea has been developed into a symbol, and whether the fighting ends with an American Dunkirk or with the martyrdom of the Korean people, Asia will have been roused against the United States. Running through all Russian propaganda is the suggestion that America would do well to be "reasonable."

Today Korea is Russia's—and China's—darling. Pro-Korean sentiment is being worked up to fever pitch in Russia. It is as strong as what so many of us felt for Spain during the Franco rebellion. Exhibitions of Korean art are being shown; hundreds of theaters are producing a play called "South of the Thirty-eighth Parallel" which was written by a Korean playwright even before the war began and depicts the horrors of the Syngman Rhee regime and of the American occupation. Russian papers are full of translations from Korean poets. A poem by Tu Son Von published in the Russian press a fortnight ago was entitled Hands Off Korea and reads:

You who are drowning Korea in blood,
Who are killing our wives and children,
You who have now acquired another monopoly—
The monopoly of our hatred.
You will keep this monopoly for hundreds of years,
For monopolies have no competitors.

So you wanted to rule the world,
And conquer the universe—
And now you find yourself running away
From "natives" and "Asiatics."

And do you know why?
Because the Korean is stronger in spirit,
He knows *what* he is defending,
And *why* he's defending it.

Look around, America!
There are thirty millions of us,
With sixty million arms
And sixty million eyes.
Multiply these by the love of our country,
Multiply these by our unity of purpose,
Multiply these by our faith in victory,
Multiply these by our valor and courage,
By the justness of our cause and our thousand years of wisdom.

Sergei Borzenko and other Russian correspondents writing from Korea strike notes that cannot fail to move the Russian reader. The descriptions of the hundreds of murders committed by Syngman Rhee's police are exactly like the descriptions of Nazi atrocities during the war. There are accounts of the stoicism of the Korean people, of their *levée en masse,* of the bombings of Korean towns: "Vonsan was raided twelve times, and 1,647 civilians were killed, among them 739 women and 325 children." This goes on day after day. Women write from all over Russia denouncing the "child murderers." The enemy's barbarity is said to be paralleled by his cowardice, and the Asiatic's superiority over "the American on the run" is played up. Combined feelings of hatred and contempt for America are being aroused throughout Asia by every means of Soviet propaganda.

Japan is seldom mentioned, perhaps because Japan is already hated by both China and Korea—"though," as one Russian report from Korea said, "hated less than America." Vague hopes continue to be entertained that Japan will join in the Asian revolt against America. At the same time it is feared that Japan may betray the cause of Asian solidarity and fall for MacArthur's alleged plan to reconquer China by means of American troops landing in the south, Chiang Kai-shek troops in the center, and Japanese troops in the north. Is Russia really frightened of this, or would it, as is so widely believed in the West, welcome this kind of American suicide?

In a cynical way the Russians might like to see America become involved in a war with China, but it is extremely doubtful whether they really want it. They could scarcely keep out of an American-Chinese war, and they would prefer the "Socialist triumph" in China to be achieved by peaceful, not catastrophic, methods. But if war should start over Formosa, the Russians are fairly sure that it would be only a token war, in which America would morally have no leg to stand on, and such a war would, of course, have the advantage of intensifying anti-American sentiment throughout Asia.

A QUESTION which, at the moment, it is hard to answer is whether the Russians want to see the Americans thrown out of Korea or not. One theory is that so long as the United States holds its Pusan bridgehead, there is a better chance that it will be willing to negotiate than if it were thrown out and went "mad." On the other hand, an American Dunkirk might have a formidable effect on Japanese opinion, and the Russians never lose sight of Japan as a factor that is bound to be important in the future. A Dunkirk might also stir in the Japanese their dormant Asiatic nationalism.

Despite all this, one gets the impression from the Soviet press and radio that the American "invasion" of Korea has alarmed the Russians. For all their love and

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admiration for the Koreans, they are carefully refraining from giving them any open help. They would rather settle for the moral advantages to be won from the crushing of Korea than become directly involved themselves. It is perhaps also significant that in the last few weeks the Russian papers have said extremely little about Indo-China, Malaya, or Indonesia; this suggests that they think it wiser for the present to "lay off"—and not upset the French, British, and Dutch. "Bourgeois-nationalist" India has been subjected to devastating criticism in the past ("all social problems left unsettled"), but now Nehru is being treated with the greatest politeness. As against this, oddly enough, Liaquat Ali Khan has been angrily denounced as "the Syngman Rhee of Pakistan." About the rest of the Middle East a somewhat mysterious silence is being observed. Whether Moscow intends to play its Azerbaijan card sooner or later is hard to say; it has always refused to consider itself permanently beaten in Persia, but after Korea it is likely to go easy.

On Yugoslavia the Russian press is taking a long-term view, expecting economic collapse to bring about a return of the prodigal son.

An invasion of Western Europe is the very last thing that Russia is contemplating; this, at any rate, is quite clear. Western Europe will be invaded only on the day the first atom bomb drops on Russia.

One does not get the impression that Russia is particularly alarmed by American rearmament. The feeling in Russia seems to be that the readier America is to strike, the more reluctant to follow will be the rest of the Western world.

What is one to conclude from it all? First, obviously, that Russia does not want to be involved in a general war. But secondly that in the long run it will not discourage any people from kicking the Syngman Rhees and Bao Dais in the teeth. Whether Russia can be held chiefly responsible for that "natural process" of revolution now going on in Asia is a vital question on which woolly and dishonest thinking, either in Washington or elsewhere, must be avoided. Mr. Stassen, please note!

Beside the Point

IT HAS come at last—the day I find myself in agreement, on a matter of significance, with the Honorable James A. Farley. "It is repugnant to the people of the state of New York," Mr. Farley says, "to have all this talk about a balanced ticket, meaning that they must have a Jew, a Catholic, and a Protestant for the important positions." I don't know about the people of the state of New York, but personally I would find it refreshing to vote for three Moslems from Staten Island.

We have had a particularly heavy dose of "balancing" this year. First the state Democratic leaders came forward and announced flatly that the nomination for Governor was "wide open." In time it turned out that this meant "wide open" to all Roman Catholics with Irish names who lived in Brooklyn, who had no vulnerable political record, and who were neither highly regarded by trade-union leaders nor violently opposed by them but just comfortably tolerated. For one reason or another the boys couldn't find anyone to fit the specifications, though I'm sure that an ad in the papers would have brought out a line of candidates running from Coney Island to the Gowanus Canal. To get around state law the ad would have had to be carefully worded, something like:

> Wanted: Democratic candidate for Governor. Must be eligible for Grand Marshal in St. Patrick's Day parade. Chance for advancement—but not much. Must be against Taft-Hartley act without ever having done much about it. Experience not necessary. Apply Democratic Voters of New York, care of Flynn, Fitzpatrick, O'Connell, and De Sapio.

Having failed to locate their man in Brooklyn, the party settled on a Bronx citizen—his name escapes me at the moment—who otherwise met the requirements, but this unhappily threatened to reopen the qualifications for Mayor of New York, which had all been nicely settled. With a Jewish Senatorial candidate and an Irish Catholic for Governor, the ticket obviously called for a Protestant nominee for Mayor at least one of whose parents shall have hailed from Italy. All this the party had in Judge Pecora, but, alas, he is a Manhattanite, and here was Kings County left high and dry. I have no doubt that the Brooklyn leaders desperately combed the pizzerias of Bensonhurst for a likely Protestant, on the fence in labor matters and otherwise suitable, but it was too late in the day. So the Democrats will have the proper racial and religious mixture, as before, but it will be a little topheavy geographically.

It seems to me that, going about it as they are, the Democrats will never get around this problem. There just aren't enough top jobs to set all the racial groups to dancing in the streets. As it is, the Negroes rarely draw more than a Harlem Congressional seat or a lesser judgeship. The Poles have to count on Buffalo for a break, and a practicing Buddhist is thought to have only an outside chance for the Executive Mansion. Of course the Democrats could try prize packages like LaGuardia and make a combination appeal. A Protestant of Italian extraction, with a Jewish wife, Fiorello was a lifelong Republican who was heart and soul for the Democratic New Deal. But LaGuardias are rare, and the chances are that Italian Jews from County Cork are even scarcer. In the long run there may be no out for the leaders but to pick political candidates on the basis of their politics and ability. It's a radical idea, I know, but if Jim Farley can say it, so can I.

R. B.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Best-Sellers—a Survey of Three Centuries

THE POPULAR BOOK. A History of America's Literary Taste. By James D. Hart. Oxford University Press. $5.

THE question "What makes a book sell?" is not so important as the question "What makes a book great?" but it has been asked as often and is as hard to answer. Wisely perhaps, "The Popular Book" does not really attempt to answer it but instead confines itself principally to what is probably the most complete survey ever made of American best-sellers from the time of the landing of the Pilgrims down to the present day. Such subjects lend themselves easily to smart superficiality, but this is a thoroughly sober, carefully documented work, all the more amusing in spots because it never tries too hard to be amusing.

Fashions are easy enough to recognize once they have developed. No best-seller is ever unique, since all enormously popular books in any epoch either set or follow a vogue, in the course of which imitations often enjoy a prosperity equal or superior to that of the type works. It is also easy to distinguish the large categories like that of the moralizing sentimental novel, which lasted in America down to the middle of the nineteenth century, or like that of the pseudo-medieval romance typified by "When Knighthood Was in Flower." Minor categories like the currently popular Outrageous Autobiography or the Sex in Fancy Dress romance are equally obvious. But though almost anyone is able to explain convincingly enough why certain books *were* popular, no one can consistently predict what *will be* popular, and the author of the present volume himself concludes with the opinions of two nineteenth-century writers who had pondered the question. Said Robert Southey: "The Public and Transubstantiation I hold to be the two greatest mysteries in or out of our nature." Said Samuel Butler: "Sometimes publishers, hoping to buy the Holy Ghost with a price, fee a man to read for them and advise them. . . . God will not have any human being know what will sell."

Pondering the facts presented in "The Popular Book," the present reviewer came to the unhelpful conclusion that though human nature does not change and though the requirements for popularity are essentially few and constant, certain superficialities of manner and tone are too important and too unpredictable to make the grand facts of human nature a useful guide in foretelling what will be popular. It is obvious, for example, that self-help and sex are always in demand. That will explain many recent best-sellers, from "Forever Amber" to "Peace of Mind," no better than it will explain the fact that in seventeenth-century New England "An Alarm to Unconverted Sinners" more than doubled its already large sale when the title was changed to "The Sure Guide to Heaven" or the fact that at about the same time a Boston bookseller was importing from England into Puritan New England both "Venus in the Cloyster, or the Nun in her Smock" and "The London Jilt, or the Politick Whore." But both sex and self-help need to be presented in fashionable ways, and it is fashion, not human nature, which is hard to predict.

If Josh Billings in the nineteenth century sold more than a hundred thousand copies of some of his annual "Farmer's Allminax" and a certain Robert Burdette had a huge success with his "Rise and Fall of the Moustache," the case of "The Office Zoo" is obviously a parallel, just as Ignatius Donnelley's "Atlantis: The Antediluvian World" corresponds to the current "Worlds in Collision." But to say that jokes and pseudo-science are standard goods does not help much unless one can answer, as one usually cannot, the more difficult question: just what kind of jokes and what kind of pseudo-science? Religion is another perennial subject, but the publisher who knew the history of "Gates Ajar" would be in no position to know that "The Seven Storey Mountain" was destined for the best-seller lists. It is amusing but not practically helpful to note that Michael Wigglesworth, author of "The Day of Doom," anticipated Tolstoy's "What Is Art?" by writing that "he is the best artist who can most clearly and familiarly communicate his thoughts to the meanest capacity," or that in 1722 a Harvard students' club exhibited already that declining respect for chastity which so much worries present-day moralists by debating publicly the question "Whether it be Fornication to lye with one's Sweetheart (after contract) before Marriage?"

"The Popular Book" hardly raises the difficult question of the relationship between popularity and excellence. Probably most—though certainly not all—excellent books achieve fairly impressive sales within, say, half a century of their publication. In other words, most good books are to some degree popular, though it is certainly less obvious that most popular books are to some degree good. What these facts mean is hard to say, and the author of the present volume, in what is almost his single reference to the subject, remarks only that the mass of readers is more influenced by contemporary pressures than the cultivated reader and that more can be learned about the thoughts and feelings of the majority of people in 1854 by reading Maria Cummins's "The Lamplighter" than by reading "Walden," which came out the same year.

But if "The Popular Book" draws few conclusions concerning the meaning of popularity it furnishes plenty of striking facts, of which the following are a sample. To the historians the 1850's constitute the miraculous decade during which "The Scarlet Letter," "Moby Dick," "Leaves of Grass," "Walden," and "Representative Men" made their appearance, but to the publishing business various women writers not only outsold the authors of any of these but probably, in several cases, outsold them all put together. The year that Thoreau got most of his "Week" back from the publisher and Putnam's paid Hawthorne a royalty of $144.09 on the "Mosses from an Old Manse," Susan Warner, another Putnam author, received $4,500, and about the same time one Fanny Fern sold 180,000

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copies of three books published within twelve months.

The classical theory of the eighteenth century solved a difficult problem by maintaining that the best book was the book which was most popular *in the long run*. It would be interesting to know whether Hawthorne has yet caught up with Fanny Fern. If he hasn't, then, presumably, we shall have to wait until he does before we can be sure that he was a better writer.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Fischer's Life of Gandhi

THE LIFE OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By Louis Fischer. Harper and Brothers. $5.

MANY Americans will be glad to have available for the first time a connected chronicle of the entire life span of that extraordinary man Mohandas K. Gandhi. Part I of Louis Fischer's book takes Gandhi quickly from his childhood to his mid-forties. In the main Fischer here follows Gandhi's own "Autobiography" and "Story of Satyagraha in South Africa"; he adds further detail, particularly on Gandhi's years as a law student in London. Part II, the bulk of the book, covers Gandhi's return from South Africa to India in 1915, the two civil-disobedience campaigns of 1920-22 and 1930-34, and Gandhi's frustrating experiences during the Second World War. Part III treats the end of British political power in India, the holocaust of partition, and Gandhi's death at the hands of a right-wing Hindu extremist on January 30, 1948.

The 500 pages of text are supplemented by a couple of dozen photographs and a useful chapter on sources and bibliography. The map of India and Pakistan with which Harper's has decorated the end papers is quite unreliable.

Fischer's method is to let Gandhi speak for himself. There is no introductory chapter on the age of Gandhi nor is there any formal conclusion. Instead there is much of Gandhi—from his books, articles, speeches, comments, quips, and chaff. The whole is held together with descriptive and explanatory material supplied in a clipped, journalistic style. By and large Fischer is well informed, more so on twentieth-century

Lunas Are Tempting to Old Consciousness

Dear Citizens,
You are a summer people, all year long,
The seashore is the lyric of your lives,
And all hearts quicken when the breaker strives
To curve and fall, like love, forever wrong.

The strong rocks also serve the fickled soul,
The sand is rough with goodness like a towel.

Cartoons, come true, run forth in bathing suits
Cheery as flutes, spontaneous as brutes.

The self-enjoyment of the flesh is full,
The nakedness is warm and admirable.

Nevertheless the Luna Park is near,
The roller-coaster soars and dives to fear.

Hark, from the coiling track come screams like jazz,
As if they jumped from brinks of a burning house.
How much some love the gross and plunging shock
As if the screeching broke the block to luck!
Why do they hate their lives?
Why do they wish to die?
Believing in vicious lies,
Afraid to remember and cry.
Nearby in little caves a little train
Seeks mystery and darkness like a vine.
Upon a wheel the couples are revolved,
As if tomorrow's blank had been resolved.

Not far, before a door, and with a roar,
A girl's skirt is blown up! showing her hips,
Her drawers, her giggles, her belly and—surprise!
Panic like rape shudders and shakes her eyes.

Soon at the boardwalk sandwiches are rich.
Apples and cones are sticky, licky, lush.
The sated summer people now may look
At abnormality's crude picture book.

Perversity attacks the mind like a storm,
Seeing the fat lady's gashouse form.
And as the Sunday wanes, and the flesh tires,
How the unconscious stretches, yawns, rises, wanders,
aspires and admires!

A Negro's face appears, to grin, if hit,
And hurt by baseballs, sublimation sweet!
Last is the gallery where the guns are neat,
The hearts not satisfied and still denied
Can win a mamma doll with a good shot.

This is the Luna of the heart's desire,
This is the play and park we all admire.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

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political matters than on economic and social questions.

The organization of the book and Fischer's own unbounded admiration for Gandhi give the impression that the nationalists' rise to power in India came as a direct consequence of Gandhi's leadership and methods. Fischer does not explicitly say that India would still be a colony of Britain today if Gandhi had been lost at sea during one of his trips to Africa or England before 1915, but the unwary reader might easily drift into such a belief. Doubtless India's path would have been different without Gandhi, but long-term forces moving irresistibly in the direction of independence for colonial areas have been operating throughout Asia since the start of this century.

Fischer does not hesitate to discuss Gandhi's well-known inconsistencies, fads, and foibles. These, of course, Gandhi himself was the first to acknowledge. Fischer fails, however, to present any serious criticism of Gandhi's role and techniques either as a whole or in crucial instances. For example, Gandhi suspended the second civil-disobedience campaign early in 1931 on terms that baffled and irritated Nehru, Bose, and other leaders of the Indian National Congress. Omitting mention of the misgivings, indignation, and even anger voiced by many sections of Indian opinion at the time, Fischer produces an apology of his own: "One has a feeling, in reviewing Gandhi's 1930 negotiations, that he viewed them at the time in the perspective of several decades later. What does the phraseology or even content of Article 2 [of the Delhi pact of March, 1931] matter now? Seventeen years after the Delhi pact, India was an independent nation. What are seventeen years in the life of an old nation like India?"

The fact is that throughout Gandhi's career in India there was always a basic difference between him and most of the other nationalist leaders. To Gandhi non-violence was a creed, a religious principle of supreme value, more important than independence itself. To the congress non-violence was a tactic, a policy to be used because it promised to pay political dividends. In the middle of the book Fischer makes a passing reference to this vitally important difference, but nowhere develops it adequately. He thus fails to prepare the reader for the sudden waning of Gandhi's *political* influence during the last years of his life. For once the Congress leaders saw that Britain, terribly weakened by World War II, could no longer hold on to India, their need for Gandhi lessened. While they were personally devoted to him, they departed more and more from his recommendations. Gandhi understood this; from 1946 to 1948 he was repeatedly attacked by feelings of failure and despondency. In the summer of 1946 he described himself as "a spent bullet"; he said later, "In the India that is shaping today there is no place for me."

There is a still larger question which Fischer never raises at all. Although Gandhi was the most important Indian political figure in the first half of the twentieth century, his own primary concern was not politics but religion. He sought what he called the spiritual regeneration of man. To this end he made, in his own words, "religious use of politics." Now Gandhi by choice and upbringing was an orthodox Hindu. However much his opinions on specific topics may have broadened later in life, his beliefs, values, concepts, terms, and modes of expression were indelibly imprinted with Hinduism, especially its most sacred text, the "Bhagavad Gita." The sad but inescapable fact is that Hinduism and Islam are two completely different and largely antipathetic religions; and Hindus and Moslems in modern India have had plenty of things to quarrel about besides religious matters. There can be little doubt that one result of Gandhi's activity was to heighten the public role of religion in modern India. Inevitably, in the circumstances of the day, this pushed forward religious differences.

The fundamental question which has to be faced is this: To what extent did Gandhi's own work, wholly apart from intention, lead to the accentuation of religious antagonisms in India? What share of the responsibility was Gandhi's for the fact that when the British ended their sovereignty over India in 1947, they left behind not one state but two, India and Pakistan, set up along lines of religious difference?

Fischer's book may be read to advantage by all interested in India so long as they take it as a faithful portrait of how Gandhi regarded himself, or of how he would have liked to be regarded, rather than of how Gandhi actually figured in the India of his day.

DANIEL THORNER

Come Back to the Bottoms

THE HOUSE OF BREATH. By William Goyen. Random House. $2.75.

"THE HOUSE OF BREATH" attempts, with symbols and incantations, to give significance to recollections of childhood in an East Texas town. The theme satisfies the merely personal need of the writer to establish his identity and to relate himself to a meaningful past, here the decaying house, the dispersed and dying family: "For all that is lost yearns to be found again, remade, and given back through the finder to itself, speech found for what is not spoken."

All novels, doubtless, have their beginnings in such radical necessities. But this one never gets beyond its beginnings, nor does the author realize his intention: he has not remade what was lost, nor has he found speech for what is not spoken; he has given us, instead, his idea of himself. (It is only fair to note, as an interesting gloss, that "The House of Breath" has been praised, highly, by Elizabeth Bowen, Katherine Anne Porter, Christopher Isherwood, and Stephen Spender.) Mr. Goyen illustrates the orthodox American heresy about writing: that any experience not entirely commonplace can be made into fiction if it is recorded with sensitiveness; that in America at least nothing of importance happens to anyone after puberty; and that the end of art is the re-creation of lost innocence, the return, as in this novel, to the old house and the no doubt older river bottom.

This is not autobiographical fiction as Proust or Dickens wrote it but the fiction of mere sensitiveness. Character and action are unimportant. Just as some novelists depend on lists of house-

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furnishings or on that bed of Procrustes, the well-made plot, for their impact, the novelist of sensitivity—Mr. Goyen is but the most recent of many—depends on his traumas. Like the Rousseau of the "Confessions," he emphasizes his otherness, forgetting that confession and fiction, like salvation and art, have nothing to do with each other. For the sympathetic, reading this kind of writing is like looking in a mirror; there is no transformation, only recognition.

For instance: Mr. Goyen reconstructs his distresses with care. His novel carries as one of its epigraphs Rimbaud's "JE est un autre"; his particular otherness depends largely on the whimsical or the bizarre in his experience. He can write such sentences as this: "But if I were to speak of the loneliness *within* love, would anyone understand?" And the sympathetic reader will know that *he*, at least, understands.

The real problem the novelist of sensitiveness must face is an intellectual one. Experience, somehow, must be transformed into knowledge. The problem is solved in "The House of Breath" by incantation. There is nothing wrong with incantation. Consider the doctor's soliloquy in "Nightwood," which does restore what is lost to itself. But Mr. Goyen, seeking meaning for emotions which spring, clearly, from the deepest personal experience, generalizes them into facile banalities. His essay-like character sketches abound in detachable truths which have the ring of Wolfe, of Whitman, or, rather shamelessly, of Ecclesiastes:

> Whatever crossing is made each over other, by boat or bridge or swimming, is to another side; and whatever drowning is dying and sinking back into a womb, and what salvation or rescue of the perishing in waters or wickedness, dead or alive, is a union, of silence or rejoicing; and to drop down into any of us, into depths (in river or self or well or cellar) is to lower into sorrow and truth.
>
> The wheel is broken at the cistern, the rope at the well is raveled and rotten, the bucket is rusted and leaky; and there is never a hand on the windlass now.

In the same way, symbols, originally personal, become, before he has done with them, centrifugal. The river bottom, the cistern wheel, the well, the map, the shell, the ship in the bottle—

H B

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these are intended to mean so much that they lose any specific meaning. In the end he has constructed a paradox, an impersonal *cri du cœur*, its eloquence imitative, its wisdom commonplace.

ERNEST JONES

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AN EXTREMELY interesting group of recordings are the ones issued by Columbia last winter—which I didn't get around to hearing until now—of performances by famous pianists and composers reproduced by the German Welte mechanism from rolls made between 1904 and 1911. The Welte roll, like the American Duo-Art and Ampico, recorded and reproduces the actual depression of the keys of the piano with the exact timings of the original performance; but whereas dynamics and pedaling were added to the Ampico roll (I don't know about the Duo-Art) by an editor who had listened to the original performance, the Welte roll—according to the description of the process on the Columbia envelope—also recorded and reproduces the original finger-pressures and pedaling. Whatever the method, the reproduced performances of Paderewski and De Pachmann are what I recall from their recitals here in the early twenties and their Victor records of the later twenties: Paderewski's grace (with the cleaner execution of his youth), De Pachmann's lovely sounds combined in eccentrically distorted phrases, with occasionally a performance as exquisite as the one of Chopin's Etude in F minor. And so I feel that I may accept as authentic the performances of D'Albert, which confirm reports of brilliant technique, temperament, and style that made him one of the supreme greats of his time; Busoni's amazingly distorted and even clumsy performance of Chopin's Prelude in D flat, which disproves the reports about his greatness; and Leschetizky's performances—of inconsequential music, unfortunately—which show that he could do as well as teach.

Among the composers playing their own piano pieces—Grieg, Scriabin, Granados, Falla, Ravel—is Debussy, whose impressive performances of a few Preludes and "The Children's Corner" make one wish for his performances of "Images" and "Estampes." And in addition there are curiosities like Mahler playing part of his Symphony No. 4, and Nikisch playing a couple of Brahms Hungarian Dances and a waltz from "Coppelia."

Allegro also has issued recordings of such performances, reproduced, I am told, from American rolls. Their sound is dimmer, and the Allegro surfaces are disturbingly noisy; but Godowsky's performances are as I remember them—rattled off with fabulous technique and erratic tempos and distortions; and there are other distorting performances by Busoni, Carreno, and Bloomfield-Zeisler—the one good one being Pugno's of a bit of Schumann's "Kreisleriana."

One of the greats of our own time is to be heard in the new Columbia recording of Gieseking playing Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 with the Philharmonia Orchestra and demonstrating an undiminished capacity for producing his finely chiseled execution of his delicate and sensitive style, but in a work which calls for something more vigorous. The orchestra is excellent, and the joint performance well integrated.

And the finest two-piano-playing of today, that of Gold and Fizdale, is to be heard on another Columbia record, in three engaging pieces: Paul Bowles's Concerto for two pianos, winds (Mitchell Miller, oboe, Reginald Kell, clarinet, among others), and percussion; Milhaud's "Carnival in New Orleans"; and his arrangement of excerpts from his score for the ballet "Dreams."

Columbia also has issued Schubert's Divertissement à la hongroise for piano four hands, which has a charming but excessively repetitious first movement, and is well performed by Vronsky and Babin.

The rich literature of the Haydn piano sonata is mostly unknown territory for the musical public, which should be grateful to the Haydn Society for issuing two of the works—No. 20 in C minor and No. 50 in C major (HSLP 3013). They are played by Virginia Pleasants competently and intelligently, but without the dynamic temperament and style that would point up the Haydn surprises excitingly.

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Letters to the Editors

Villard, War, and "The Nation"

Dear Sirs: Lewis Gannett's article on Oswald Garrison Villard [*The Nation*, July 22] is particularly interesting at the present time when we can see so clearly the results of the "realism" advocated—if with misgiving—by the editors of *The Nation*. Villard opposed the war, and our participation in it, because it could only lead to irreconcilable hatreds and to another lost peace. Freda Kirchwey accused him of having no conception of reality in this stand. The editors of *The Nation*, and most liberals, thought that this time the mistakes of Versailles could be avoided and that a war could be fought to end war and make the world safe for democracy—in short, they believed that good could come out of evil.

Both logic and history refute this belief. War engenders such hatreds that the victors cannot resist the temptation to wreak vengeance and to despoil the defeated enemy, finally quarreling over the division of spoils and preparing the ground for a new war. Given the hatreds aroused in total war, such a lost peace is inevitable.

Those who think we can fight a new war, or even the present cold war, without losing the peace are the ones who have a faulty grasp on reality. The editors of *The Nation* do realize that war and preparation for war are destroying our civil liberties, sapping our democracy, and leading to an atomic Armageddon. Yet paralyzed by their recognition of the perfidious nature of communism, they only make a few half-hearted protests against the drift of this nation into war. (But at least they do protest.)

War cannot advance liberal and humanitarian values, and it should be emphatically rejected by all liberals. By this I do not advocate appeasement. Far from it. A true pacifist denounces evil wherever he sees it, and combats it with all ethical means at his disposal. Jesus was no appeaser; yet he told us to love our enemies and to go an extra mile with them. He opposed violence, for they who live by the sword perish by the sword.

Can pacifists save the world? Only if there are enough of us, and if we remain steadfast in the moment of crisis. This much we do know: participation in an armament race (alias "preparedness") is doomed to failure. All previous history bears witness to that.

PETER B. DENISON

North Haven, Conn., September 4

Godkin's Conservatism

Dear Sirs: Pusillanimous panegyrics eulogizing past panjandrums of your publication do you a genuine disservice. *The Nation* has come a long way since 1865 and Edwin Lawrence Godkin. The movement has not all been temporal but partially spatial, in the sense of right to left.

For example, take two of Godkin's pet economic theories. One was that man interfered with the immutable economic laws at his own peril. I do not need to elaborate on this but only to state that it was contested by such groups as the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Knights of Labor, and by such men as John Bates Clark, Richard T. Ely, Simon N. Patten, and, before these, the Careys. Godkin also was a hard-money man, holding to "real" value and rejecting as "communistic" the quantitative theories of the agrarians of the West. I trust that the fallacy of this premise is apparent to *The Nation*.

A profile of Godkin's beliefs and sympathies is no pretty picture:

1. Negroes: he "took elaborate pains to explain the conditions in the South which . . . justified the white race in disciplining and keeping the black man in his place."

2. Labor: he knew of no more mischievous person "than the man who, in free America, seeks to spread . . . the idea that they [the workers] are wronged and kept down by somebody; that somebody is to blame because they are not better lodged, better dressed, better educated, and have no easier access to balls, concerts or dinner parties."

3. Farmers: he thought the "ravings of the Farmers' movement" nothing more than visionary discontent; "there is nothing unnatural or deplorable in a Granger turning from one form of swindle to another."

4. Westerners: he confessed, "I do not like the Western type of man. . . . No scenery or climate I had to share with Western people would charm me."

5. Brahmans: he loved the company of such authenticated gentlemen as Norton and Lowell; he felt that if only America were like Cambridge, his fears of democratic vulgarization and leveling would be unfounded.

In brief, Godkin was a dangerous snob, dangerous by virtue of his mouthing of certain liberal precepts. He did stand for decency in government, but for that matter, in our day, so does Hoover.

RICHARD T. DRINNON

Salem, Ore., September 1

Defense of Dianetics

Dear Sirs: I wish to enter some necessary corrections of Milton R. Sapirstein's review [in *The Nation* of August 5] of L. Ron Hubbard's "Dianetics."

Having undergone sixty hours of dianetic therapy and given an equal amount, I flatly deny Dr. Sapirstein's statement that the "reverie" is like hypnotism. It isn't, I've experienced both. What it is, I can't say. It's something new, a condition in which the patient's

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volitional integrity is not reduced and a new, extended ability of recall is manifested. Nothing is imposed.

For example, a woman undergoing dianetic therapy reexperienced a near-drowning of childhood with such realism that she started upright on the couch to spew non-existent water from her nose and mouth. Note this: She had received no instructions as to what incident to choose or how to reexperience it; she was merely asked to *recount* the incident. What is more to the point, she was able to interrupt her reverie to listen intently to sounds outside the room and then reenter the drowning scene and continue with it.

Why attempt to explain dianetics in terms of more familiar methods of therapy? Why not accept it—even if skeptically—as a thing in itself until it is well enough understood to be integrated properly into the field of human knowledge.

I concur in Dr. Sapirstein's lament over the absence of documentation, and I would in consequence appreciate any information sent me by readers of your magazine. My address is 1380 St. Charles Avenue, Lakewood 7, Ohio.

I cannot go along with Dr. Sapirstein in the belief that this therapy produces detached, mechanical, unemotional zombies. My observation of other cases as well as my own shows heightened zest for life, decreased fear, worry, and depression, increased liking for others. CHARLES W. EASTMAN

Lakewood, Ohio, September 7

Fraternity Autonomy

Dear Sirs: The Nation of August 12 contained an article by Carey McWilliams, entitled Toward Real Fraternity, dealing with the growing tendency in school and college fraternities to eliminate racially discriminatory clauses in their constitutions.

I wholly approve of this tendency but wish to emphasize the educational blunder made by the trustees of Amherst College, which may be made elsewhere if the colleges seek to accelerate the tendency by banning from their campuses fraternities which retain such discriminatory clauses. My claim is that such action is a violation of the principle of student self-government.

The membership of the fraternity-chapter household as a unit in the college community is of more direct interest to the members of that household than to the college. The principle of student self-government demands therefore that this membership be determined so far as possible by the fraternity rather than by college ukase. The possibility of student mistakes is granted, but there should be opportunity for correction by the students themselves. Such correction may not be rapid enough to suit older heads, but it is pretty inevitable if given a little time.

The liberal position of the Amherst trustees was in itself correct; the trouble with it was that it cost too much. It was taken at the expense of a direct infringement of student self-government. The trustees should frankly admit their blunder and repair it. Incidentally, this would be a wonderful contribution to the education of Amherst students. ALBERT S. BARD

New York, September 1

Ads and the Ban

Dear Sirs: In regard to the banning of *The Nation* by the New York City Board of Education, you have a legitimate complaint when innocuous advertisements are given as reason for the board's action. However, such ads as one in the November 19, 1949, issue, page 501 ("Maria Monk . . . amazing disclosures of an *escaped nun.* $1.00 each"), do not help your case.

Advertising downright anti-Catholic trash is your privilege, but since when is it the duty of a public institution to disseminate it? Does not freedom of the press include the freedom *not* to read or spread a publication? As a non-Catholic reader of *The Nation* it seems to me that your position on this matter is weak and your attitude of crusader slightly phony. Are there no better causes to fight for?

HERBERT P. SYROP

New York, September 2

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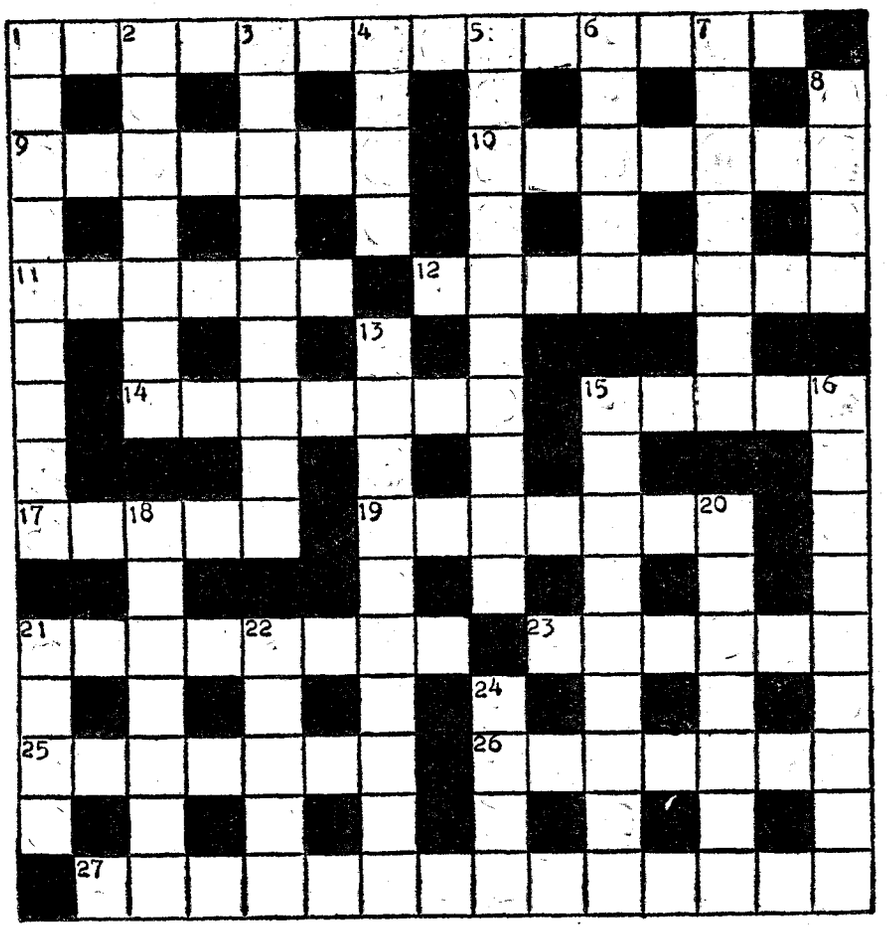
Crossword Puzzle No. 379

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The sort of rattler that one doesn't like to find in the closet. (6, 8)
9 A target which implies the winner has to have pull, power, or a lot of wind.
10 Venezuelan river.
11 "Tomorrow's _____ to the winds resign." *Rubaiyat.*
12 He founded a great American institution.
14 A form of abettor might make such a stand.
15 The wanderer brings back a friend.
17 He shouldn't have been an elder of the Mormon church!
19 Puts away quiet little men.
21 It makes the tide bend.
23 A follower of Carter.
25 If you were on a new one in '47 you were lucky as a monarchist.
26 A bulldog is out early.
27 Agreement in writing?

DOWN

1 Eve or Bessie? (5, 4)
2 Wisemen, not together in a line.
3 and 8. A small tuba suggested as the locale of a famous band's stand. (6, 3, 4)
4 "Hands up!" in the vulgate of trade.
5 Atrocities, or found in hatreds.
6 Cited by authority.
7 Does he act true to life? Quite the contrary!
8 See 3.
13 Printed description of a Scot supper.
15 Don't bother! It's a much-quoted answer to "What is the matter?" (5, 4)
16 Complaisance.
18 You'll seldom find the "stop" light here!
20 Those with the good sort draw well.
21 It measures the remains of a bird, no kidding!
22 One of the things Puck went through? It's a pipe.
24 A soldier of Nero who was associated with the battle of 3–8.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 378

ACROSS:—1 ORBIT; 4 BYSTANDER; 9 JOAN OF ARC; 10 HULKS; 11 COTYLEDON; 12 MACAO; 13 ANCHORITES; 17 CONVERSANT; 21 ELECT; 22 HISTAMINE; 23 NOOSE; 24 OTOLOGIST; 25 DEMITASSE; 26 ETHEL.

DOWN:—1 OBJECT; 2 BEAUTY; 3 TROLLS; 4 BOARDING SCHOOLS; 5 SECOND-HAND STORE; 6 ALHAMBRA; 7 DELICATE; 8 RESPONSE; 14 SCREENED; 15 ANTEROOM; 16 VESTMENT; 18 PAROLE; 19 FINISH; 20 RENTAL.

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